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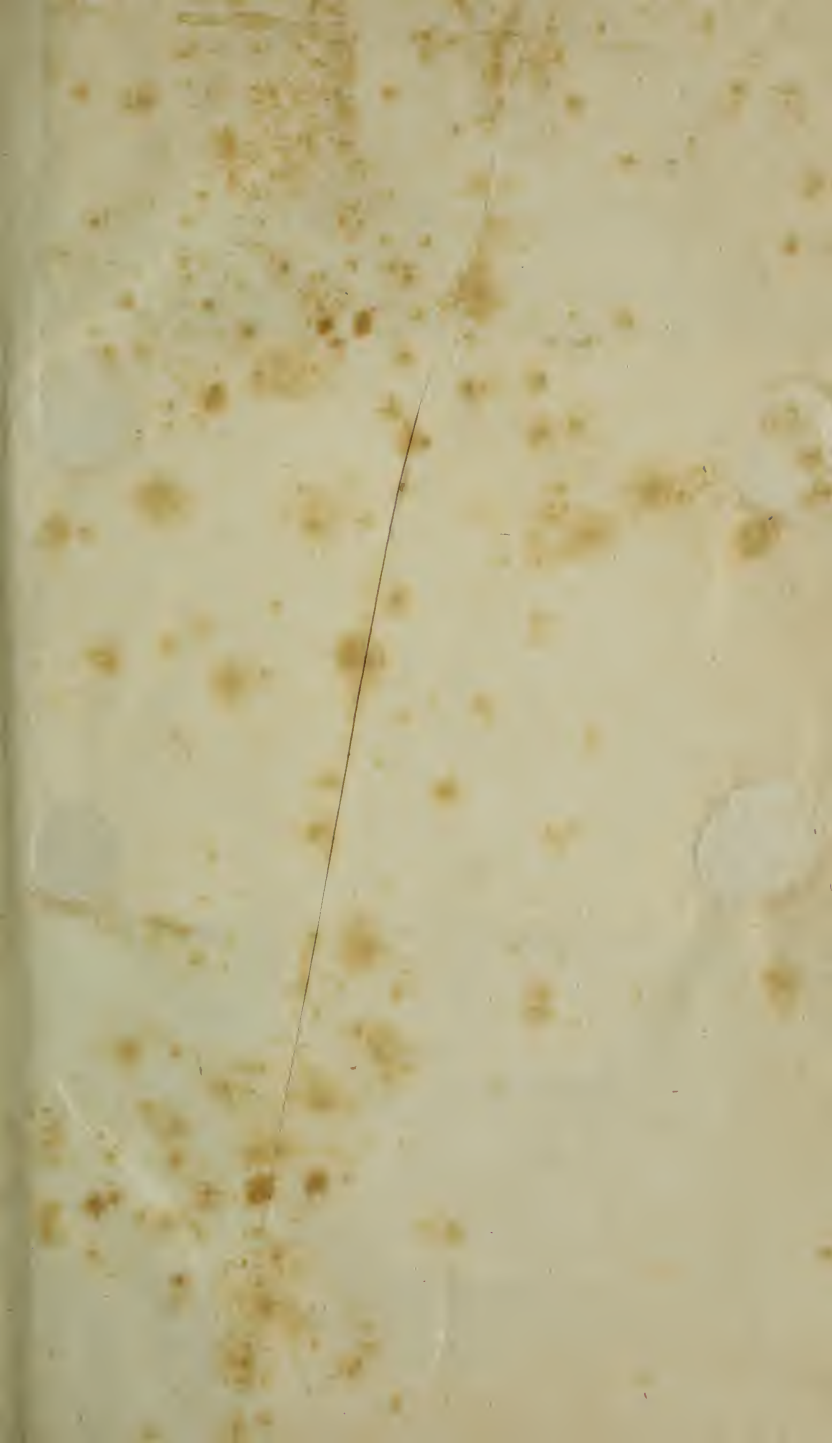
Katherine E. Coman















# AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY THE

REV. L. W. BERRY, D. D.,

UPON HIS INSTALLATION AS PRESIDENT OF THE

INDIANA ASBURY UNIVERSITY.

JULY 16, 1850.

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## PRESIDENT BERRY'S ADDRESS.

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THE world presents no position to moral agents that does not involve responsibility. Such are our relations to our Maker and to each other, that, whether we are active or inactive, using our talents, or hiding them as too precious for use, or as though the use involved too great hazard, we cannot escape from the responsibilities of free and rational agents. But there are some positions where circumstances are perpetually recurring to keep the sense of responsibility alive and active within the mind. Perhaps there are none more fully calculated to secure this end than that of the instructor of youth. The capacities of mind are continually expanding in his view; its susceptibility of being impressed, favorably or otherwise, is sometimes even painfully apparent; the permanency of these impressions when once made; their influence in moulding character, in shaping future destiny; the consequences to the individual, to society, to immortal existence, of failure on one hand and success on the other, all conspire to heighten the consciousness of responsibility, and to render the class room, to the man who has the requisite moral as well as intellectual qualifications, a scene of intense excitement and interest.

It was not without some proper appreciation of these weighty duties, that your speaker received the important trust which the honorable joint board were pleased to com-

mit to him. The experience of one year has not diminished, but greatly increased, his estimate of the delicacy and importance of the duties involved in that trust, while the eloquent charge, from our distinguished fellow citizen, has deepened the impression, rendering those duties more obvious and therefore more imperative. "I will try," was the laconic answer of an officer when directed to perform a perilous work. Now, while this is all the most distinguished man can promise in relation to his future action, it is the privilege of all, even the least, to promise as much. And, though your speaker may tremble in view of the responsibilities of his post, yet, would he be destitute of proper sentiments and feelings, if he did not, under the full inspiration of this promise, enter upon the discharge of the duties of his office, firmly relying upon the source of all prosperity, upon that power and wisdom that can alone effectuate the wishes and counsels of man.

But the occasion, this large and intelligent assembly, and the impressive charge, all remind me, it is MAN—the intellectual and moral improvement of man—that has led to the rearing of this institution, and has excited so high and abiding an interest in its prosperity. And to the consideration of this being, MAN, both as an individual and in society, and especially to his capacities for improvement, would we direct the attention of the audience.

This world is the theater of human action. Wherever we turn our attention, all is stir and bustle; the individual and the masses are in motion. There is the pomp of preparation, the apparatus of human industry, the endlessly varied, and innumerable devices of human skill, for the accomplishment of equally varied and innumerable purposes; and we often identify the interest which the living agent inspires with the theater itself. But it is man which invests our earth with so much that is interesting. The earth itself is but the field where he calls into sight and action the purposes of his great and ardent mind; where he embodies his vast designs; where he develops all the multifarious devices of his skill and wisdom. There must be a percipient and

sensitive being before it can be discovered there are any forms of beauty and sublimity on our earth, and it only becomes an object of real interest, when considered in relation to such a being. To create this interest there must be mind so constituted, that by the aid of association, it can call up, from the depths of memory, in most delightful and interesting relations, objects that are past, and give them the forms and lineaments, the permanency, life, and activity of real existence; that can discover "the fixed laws of matter with so much accuracy as to express, in mathematical formulas not only the state of large bodies, but also of a drop of water, or of a ray of light, estimating minutely extension and quantity, force, velocity, and resistance;" that can endue objects destitute of life and sensation, with the energy, the animation, and functions of real being, until, in the glow and freshness of its vivid conceptions, the mountains shall *frown* in solitary grandeur, the skies *smile* upon the earth, the valleys, covered with rich harvests, *laugh*, as if rejoicing to supply the wants of man, "*the hills skip like lambs*," and the "*floods utter their voice and lift up their hands on high*."

If man was constituted differently, if his nature was pure intellect, unmoved by desire or emotion, there might still be bright creations; but there would be none to admire their brightness. Beauty might exist, but it would not be felt. The intellect might grasp great conceptions such as right and wrong, and preceive the immutability of moral distinctions; but there would be none to appreciate those conceptions, or feel the fitness of those distinctions. If man but gives his attention, all nature is vocal with music, and lovely in its array of beauty; if he withdraws that attention, the earth becomes as a desolate waste, or full of deformity and discordance. It is said the nightingale sings in the day as well as in the night; but mind, in which sensation resides, occupied with the absorbing interests of other pursuits, can give no attention; and thus the sweet song that has so often cheered man in the silence, and mental relaxation of the evening, falls, unheeded, as upon the leaden ear of death.

But God has placed man's moral, over against his mental



powers. He has given him sensibilities as well as intellect. And under their nicely adjusted and legitimate action, man becomes that restless, inquisitive creature, who is ever in pursuit of some object; ever seeking new ends; calling on nature to yield up her secrets; to make known her laws, and going forth with an invincible determination to subdue physical elements, and mould material nature to the good pleasure of his will. And whether we find him on the land, or on the sea, engaged in high or low pursuits, traveling the circuit of the heavens, or employed with his muck-rake upon the earth, he exhibits a minuteness and expansion, a fixedness and versatility, in one word, a universal adaptation of intellectual powers, which excites a livelier and broader interest in whatever pertains to him, and makes us search with more eagerness to ascertain his destination.

Now he exhausts his intellectual resources in controverting some such question as that which agitated the scholastic world, and enlisted the greatest minds of the age: "When a hog is carried to market with a rope tied about its neck, which is held at the other end by a man, whether is the *hog* carried to market by the *rope*, or the *man*?" Now he turns away from this trifling and degradation of his intellect, and discovers, from the falling of an apple, the law of gravitation, and by analogy makes it evident, this law applies to all the heavenly bodies. Now he puts forth all his skill in shaping the point of his pen; anon, he labors with Franklin to discover the laws of Electricity, or with Hadley to apply light by means of the Quadrant, to the measurement of angles. All his powers are now concentrated on the gratification of his appetites. Food and water are the world to him. Then you may behold him with curious instruments, eagerly engaged in performing a chemical analysis, and determining, by accurate tests, and the nicest discrimination, if there be any adulteration in the compound. Seek him to day, and you will find him with Paracelsus in a dusty foundry amidst furnaces and pots, engaged in the laborious though Utopian enterprise of discovering the primitive element, the universal menstruum; to-morrow he is employed with Newton in measur-

ing the solid contents of the sun, or calculating the relative distances of the planets. But whether he be discussing quodlibets with the scholastic metaphysicians, or the laws of planetary motion with La Place; whether he be sagely and intently employed in nibbling his pen, or with Hadley in fixing the light, and subjecting it to his operation; whether his attention be directed to the necessary, but somewhat unclassical employment of gratifying his appetites, or with Sir Humphrey Davy to fix the alkaline bases and the laws of their combination; whether he be found with Paracelsus exploring the secrets of Alchymy, and still pursuing the ever-flying fugitive of his hopes, or with Newton in exploring the heavens, and unfolding the astounding results of his investigation—he is the same being, the same intellect, the same sentient nature, the same volitive control. Whether his attention be fixed on vast or on minute objects, his observations be made through a telescope or a microscope, he stoops to pick an apple, or rises to govern a world, he is the same unchanged creature. All his powers fix upon an object, be it great or small. All his feelings for the moment cluster around it. He no less thinks, desires, and wills when he brushes a fly from his face, than when he performs some delicate surgical operation, or resolves some intricate problem of mathematics. *It is man that makes the world.* It is human thoughts and human sentiments, it is the rise and fall of individual and social morality and intelligence that cause the nations to advance, stand still, retrograde. It is the thinking, feeling, willing of this paradoxical creature, of this groveling and godlike man, which are producing such strange revolutions on our earth, that invest it with so much to interest, excite, and astonish, and which make it the theater where truth and error, good and evil, joy and suffering mingle in perpetual conflict.

There is undoubtedly danger that man's judgment will be perverted by vast material magnitudes, and that he will lose a proper estimate of himself amidst their external glories and magnificence. But we should remember they are unconscious of their own existence. They wheel onward in

their dazzling orbits, passive under the forces that control them, without thought or feeling, or a self-determining power. The physical universe is a mere automaton, while mind is governed by laws under its own control. If there be a system of relations binding these inert masses, there is one as complete, as harmonious, and infinitely more wonderful, within individual man, and extending from the individual to each and all of the human family. And what is more, this system is comprehended by his intellect, and directed by his volition. The understanding is employed in investigating truth, and with a measure of that intelligence which created the universe, adapting means to ends; his appetites, propensities and affections in impelling him to action, and furnishing the sources from which his sensitive nature derives its happiness; conscience harmonizes with these impulsive principles, when they preserve their proper bounds, and when they over-step them, it strongly impels to another course of action, and restrains the desires by its solemn admonitions, the uneasiness it creates, and the remorse with which it fills the soul after an action has been performed: and the voluntary power, the will, presides over and regulates the whole.

Let man study the science of his own nature; let him survey the workings of this system; let him contemplate the wonderful spiritual machinery which his Maker has put to work within him, and to which he has given such recuperative energy as to render it ever moving, producing harmonious, ennobling, purifying results, through all the successive and heightening periods of his existence: and then, if his admiration of material objects does not abate, at least his conception of the order, strength and adjustment of his own powers will be greatly exalted and enlarged. He will find man more wonderful than any other work of God; and he will learn to regard whatever is connected with his progressive improvement, as more deserving of attention than the most exalted spheres in the universe. And science itself, in all its departments, embracing these worlds of light and glory, will come to be considered valuable only as it



contributes to the intelligence, morality, and consequently to the happiness of this being.

It is certainly an inquiry of no inconsiderable importance and interest, whether this being shall advance or retrograde ; his civilization, his moral and intellectual condition improve, or the advancement already made be lost, and society be resolved into the simple individualism of savage life. On the question of *Human Progress*, we hesitate not to avow our belief in the comparative perfectability of human nature. And it will be no difficult matter to show, there are agents now at work, there are prolific means now employed, that must issue in a radical improvement of man's social condition. But in discussing this subject, it is not our intention to consider the question of the different races of men, however it may seem to be blended with our subject, or however entertaining it might prove to be. A modern writer has asserted, that "Men were originally created of different races, and that however they may mingle there is a constant tendency for the mixed race to die off, and the races to revert to their original types." Now in the absence of all satisfactory evidence of the truth of this bold statement, we are contented with the simple declaration of an infallible record—"God made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." We shall then, without waiting to adduce proofs, assume the original identity of the human family.

Neither shall we pause to consider some minor points, bearing on our physical progress such as Food, Fuel, Raiment and Shelter. These too are interesting topics, standing in close connection with our subject. It is a field in which science will make vast improvements contributing more or less directly to the physical well being of man. The subject of physical progress may be briefly considered in harmony with our design, for it lays at the foundation of all social progress ; but the points to which we have referred, though they constitute branches of the general subject, would lead us to discuss topics foreign to our present purpose.

We would examine the present aspect of the world; inquire what are the attitudes of the nations; what will be the result of this or that improvement or scientific discovery; what of a more general dissemination of science; of a more energetic and extensive application of moral means and agencies; and if all these combined will be likely to raise the human race from its present degradation to such a state of social improvement as to enable all men to realize the greatest amount of happiness of which the present state is susceptible. At the very threshold of this subject, we are met with the inquiries, "Is the condition of man really improved by society?" "Are not his interests and happiness more fully secured without it?" I need scarcely say that in the estimation of some writers of merit, the social state teems with evils to the race; the evil far exceeds the good. But it is very difficult to point out the reliable grounds for such a position. If it be admitted, it must follow, that the individual independence and lawlessness of the savage state are more rational and elevating, than any or all the advantages of society. By society we mean a state of physical well being, associated with high moral and intellectual freedom and culture. If then it be said, the barbarous state, with its uncultivated powers, its deadened sensibilities, and blighting influences, is superior to such a social state, there is an end to all argument. The assumption, if we compare the means of happiness possessed by barbarous and civilized men, is a manifest absurdity. It were easy to show, by any recognized standard of judgment, that the susceptibilities of man's physical, mental and moral nature for improvement can only be fully developed in connection with society; indeed, that the refinements and just adaptations of society, necessarily suppose human nature carried forward to the farthest point of earthly progress.

Civilization is so clearly a blessing to man, we cannot avoid the inference, that there must be some strong personal reason other than conviction, some derangement of moral powers to lead one to suppose the undisguised selfishness, torpidity, and ferocity of savage life are superior to the spirit

stirring philanthropy, the humanity, the mental activity and refinement of social existence. There is but one single fact peculiar to savage life which harmonizes with reason, and commends itself to a man of correct moral feelings. I allude to his feeling of independence, to his sentiment of unrestricted and unqualified personality. But to what does the savage state owe this? It will not surely be said, it is the product of barbarism. It is an offspring of spontaneity, an original suggestion of the soul, born with every man, and exists as much in the social as in the savage state. The very ground work of society implies it. For it is the very individual lawlessness, which is supposed to be the sole property of the savage, that is conceded when man enters society.

But not only are our powers more fully developed in connection with society, but it is essential to human happiness. Man was formed for it. Nothing can compensate him for its loss. The garden of Eden with all its bloom and beauty, would be to him as desolate as the African desert, if he was without companions. *Multo miserius seni exilium esse*, said the aged Coriolanius. He, that with an unblanched cheek and a steady nerve, could encounter all other forms of danger, was overwhelmed with the terrors of exile. It is indeed strange, that common sense which some one has denominated the "genius of humanity," should teach us to live in society, if it furnishes so many drawbacks upon human happiness. Men, as if governed by a common impulse, associate themselves. If the solitariness and peculiar independence of the savage are congenial with the interests of humanity, why is it that solitary confinement is regarded as so severe a punishment? The evil is not in the confinement, for if so, it would destroy men generally when allowed social intercourse. But it is the solitariness which stupifies their intellects, benumbs all their powers, renders existence intolerable, and terminates it in gloom and despair.

The Western Roman Empire fell, in the fifth century, under the successive attacks of barbarians. We know what was the state of the Roman Empire. What was that of these sav-



age hordes who thus became masters of the fairest portion of the world? The bands of society were rent on every side. Cultivation entirely ceased. And in the state of mental inan-ity which followed; in the universal selfishness which excludes every refined feeling and entombs the soul within the body; in their ignorance and brutality; in the disorders, anarchy, tribual dominion, and wars which succeeded through several success-ive centuries, we have the perfected contrast of barbarism with civilization. And so it must ever be. The arguments with which the social state is opposed may claim importance and profundity; but upon examination we shall find their im-portance, like that of the human exquisite, to consist in airs and flourish of trumpets, and their profundity mere surface. It is an old saying, "Waters may seem deep because they are muddy," and philosophy will teach us, a small object may rise into magnitude if seen in a fog.

But is there any sufficient ground on which to base our hopes for the future progress of the race? Very different answers would doubtless be returned by different persons to this question. One sees, in the movements of society, no di-rection, no intelligent end. Crimes, absurdities, and bar-barisms follow each other in endless succession. The bound-less ocean, swept by storms and tempests, is its appropriate similitude. A favorable aspect is only presented to mock human hopes, while the whole scene is crowded with disas-trous occurrences. The wheel of the fickle goddess, Fortune, is ever turning. The rule of Chance is universal. And over the whole earth, Fate, with inexorable rage, crushes the successive generations of man, and hurls them with re-morseless fury into the gulf of oblivion. Before such a be-ing all is darkness and dismay; while around him in the moving scenes of a providential government, he can see no indications of an intelligent administration.

There are others who regard every event as subject to un-changing laws, administered by an intelligent being. They see the turmoil, the commotion, the confusion referred to: they, too, look out upon a turbulent ocean swept by storms;

but high above the storm they see the guiding hand of Providence, overruling all events, and giving them such a general direction, as to make them contribute on the whole to the final elevation and happiness of man. The administration is in the hands of a benevolent being; and contemplating the universality and fixedness of his laws, they look out in anticipation of a bright future; an age of perfected social interests; an age crowned with the glory of peace and all its concomitant blessings; industry promoted; commerce multiplying the means of human happiness; man drawn into intimate relations with his fellow man; conscience free; talent rewarded; virtue honored; education diffused; the arts and sciences matured and conferring many blessings: and religion, the religion of the Bible, crowning and immortalizing the whole. This improvement of the race even now begins to shine in prospect, like the first rays of light streaming on the vision of the mariner after a night of storms. The storm is over, the billows are gently subsiding into a state of rest, the wind has retired to his caverns, or sent howling over other seas, and light, succeeded by a sense of safety, rendered more intensely pleasurable by the previous presence of danger, has burst upon his view. Upon such a tempestuous sea has human society been tossed. The time has come when the storm must abate—calm and rest must succeed to universal confusion. And the nations of the earth, if they do not yet behold the sun, may exultingly cry, “the morning breaketh.”

After what has been said, we need scarcely repeat, our views correspond with those last given. And if we had no other ground on which to rely, we should repose securely in the one just referred to—the *universality of law*.

“Of law,” says the celebrated Hooker, “no less can be said, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different

spheres and manners, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy." One hardly knows which most to admire in this passage, its sublimity, its comprehensiveness, its facility and grace of expression, or its truthfulness. It is truth of the highest order and deepest interest ; truth as nearly related to man's social and spiritual being as fragrance to the burning incense ; truth flaming with revelations of hope, and peace, and joy all along the line of earthly existence, irradiating the closing scenes of that existence with the sunlight of immortality, and furnishing an assurance of its renewal in the bright abodes of the blest on high. Were it true, there is no rule, no order in the world around ; were there no intelligent being looking through all the gloom and turmoil of our earth to distant ends concurrent with human happiness ; were any event not subject to the divine dominion, what a flood of sorrow would the discovery of such a fact let in upon the human mind. It would be as though the bow of promise were stricken from the heavens, as though the sun should withdraw his beams, or the blasts and storms of winter were suddenly to howl around us in mid-summer. A being ignorant of the nature of storms might fancy a demon rode upon their dark wings ; that the shivering bolt was hurled from his hand ; the tempests let loose from the reservoirs of his malice : and that pestilence, and famine, disease and death were his chosen ministers. Denying the universality of law, this state of extreme dread and terror becomes the common lot of man. Repose of spirit is a stranger on earth ; and "strangling better than life." Nay worse than this. Better that our earth be governed by an intelligent though malevolent being, than by a wild, untraceable, mysterious chance. In one case, having intelligence, we might be sure he worked by some rule ; and the discovery of that rule might furnish some grounds for hope. We might anticipate the blow, and either prepare to receive it, or by some means succeed in shunning it. But we can make no calculations in relation to the acts of a blind, unintelligent agent, who puts forth



power necessarily. He acts at random, and human sagacity and foresight are unavailable.

But this is not the only result. Denying the universality of law we dethrone the Deity. We cannot conceive of God without conceiving of fixed laws and universal government. Take any event from under his control, and abandon it to the government of chance, and he is without those attributes essential to absolute perfection. You thus raise up a rival of the infinite; a being with power adequate to contest the question of supremacy with heaven. There is commotion in the earth; the weak are overcome by the strong; right and might are found on different sides; the despot tramples on the liberty of nations; the patriot army is overthrown in battle; society retrogrades; virtue is degraded; truth and equity fall in the streets. It is the wild domain of chance. Darkness, and error, and misery are the necessary results. Let the conviction of the universality of law once fix itself in the mind and we view the same scene without dismay. We confidently wait to see the scene still farther unfold; to behold the proof of the fact, a thousand times illustrated in history, that our world has a moral government. We wait to view the just and certain retribution as terrible as unanticipated; to behold the overthrow of the despot; the nations, corrected by well-appointed discipline, arising from slavery; society advancing, exhibiting activity, and energy, and love of virtue in all its movements, and furnishing an unmistakable vindication of the ways of God to man.

It is the peculiar privilege of him who accredits the doctrine of a Divine Providence, to go beyond the mere historian, who simply records facts, oftentimes without comprehending their relations. *He* may enter the "secret place of thunder;" *he* may seat himself in the divine chariot as it rolls over the earth, and see, in the comprehensive plans of God's moral government, the development of vast designs, of far reaching purposes, of a benevolence looking steadily forward to the elevation of our race and taking in its immense compass, its vast and unmeasured unity, every agent and

every event that may be made to bear upon the interests of mankind. Thus, not only law, fixed and uniform, "becomes the mother of our peace and joy," but issuing from "the bosom of God, her voice is the harmony of the world." It is here we base our argument for the improvement of mankind. The will, the power, and the benevolence of the Creator accord with it. It is hence repeatedly foretold in the Scriptures, and the loftiest strains and boldest imagery of the holy seers of ancient times, are employed in its celebration as the jubilee of our earth. The question, then, of the prospective exaltation of man, is settled by the unerring prescience of God.

But we may inquire, what are the means and agencies which will bring about the result? It cannot surely be assumed we are entirely ignorant in relation to this matter. The past and present are known to us; and man is able to derive from all the example of the past, where examples are numerous and well attested, and from all the experience and observation of the present, such grounds of analogical reasonings as will guide him to safe conclusions in relation to the future. This fact becomes more evident when we investigate the laws of mind, and discover there the same uniformity to which we have previously referred. Assuming, for the moment, this uniformity, the argument may be thus stated: If, at any period in the history of the world, any considerable portion of the human family, under favorable, but especially under unfavorable circumstances, has evinced high susceptibilities for improvement, and has made large advancements, as the laws of mind are uniform, under similar conditions, we may confidently look for corresponding results. Again: If we find that a certain employment—say commerce—has had a striking effect to elevate mankind, and that not in a few instances merely but universally, we may safely infer that, so far as it is pursued in future, it will continue to produce this result. And, if still further, we can show an increasing tendency to enter upon commercial pursuits; that the sphere of commerce is widening and its facilities increas-



ing; that from the relations of man, and from their mutual wants, which can only be met by a system of exchanges, it must continue to expand; and that, in proportion as men have become intelligent, they have established commercial connections, and given free scope to trade, we shall have greatly strengthened the argument, and have proved that while man will certainly enter upon this employment, it will certainly contribute to the improvement of society. Now, if this mental uniformity be conceded, the argument becomes irresistible. The history of the past and present is at once replete with interest; the benevolent heart is roused to greater activity, and benevolent associations are clothed with new efficiency.

But we are under no necessity of *assuming* the uniformity of mental law, or of asking any concessions on this subject. It is so obvious and so unvarying, that men in reasoning from it seem almost endowed with the spirit of prophecy. "We can foretell," says Dr. Abercrombie, (*Moral Feelings*, Part II.,) "the respective effects that a tale of distress will have upon a cold hearted miser and a man of active benevolence, with the same confidence with which we can predict the different actions of an acid upon an alkali and upon a metal."

How is it that the proper officers in all civilized governments estimate beforehand, the amount of capital which will be annually invested in commerce? This principle lays at the foundation of all their calculations. How does the orator and the writer of fiction succeed so invariably in swaying human passions? It is by adapting their appeals and imaginary creations to them, which they could not do but for their uniformity. How is it that in a pending election, an adept in the science of human nature, notwithstanding human fickleness and instability, can foretell its termination with strong confidence and almost unvarying accuracy? Man changes, but it is according to unchangeable rules. His circumstances vary, not his rules. His rules are fixed like the sun in its relation to the earth, while his circumstances, like the earth, are alone subject to revolutions. And so

confident is man of the stability of these inward laws, that he stakes his very existence upon them, and relies with safety, even where his life hangs upon their permanency.

Many of the most approved sciences, have no other foundation than this mental uniformity. Such are History, the Laws of Nations, Political Economy, Rhetoric, and Moral Philosophy, not to mention several others. Deny this stability of mental laws and the admitted facts of these sciences will be true or false, according to the ever varying and confused action of the principles of human nature. But if the laws of mind are so fixed and uniform as to constitute a proper basis for scientific deduction, then are they a reliable ground for argument in relation to man's future progress. If then the facts we have adduced are undeniable, we have, in the uniformity of mental laws, an accurate rule to guide us in the arguments we would draw from the records of the past, and from present experience and observation. Let us examine some of the facts that may be derived from these sources.

It is an undeniable truth, *that the whole world are anticipating a halcyon period*, when social reforms shall be perfected, the bonds of the slave be broken, a universal equality of rights recognized, and when, the intellectual and moral condition of man, corresponding with the elevated circumstances of his physical being, he shall realize the full compass of happiness for which he was made. This anticipation is, to my mind, in many points of view, both interesting and startling. Immediately prior to the appearance of the Saviour of the world, the expectation of the coming of a being of great power and remarkable characteristics, was nearly universal. This expectation, so fully realized in the advent of him who was *The Wonderful*, doubtless owed its origin either to tradition, or to the prophets of the Jewish dispensation. But the rapid improvement of society, the vast elevation of the race, the universal spread of light, knowledge, and peace, are equally subjects of prophetic enunciation, as clear and distinct as was the coming of the Son of Man. A bright fu-

ture is the subject of universal anticipation. Are there any indications that the event will in this, as in the other case, succeed the expectation? Have any heralds preceded it to announce its coming? I answer, the tendency of society is upward, and the elements of progress are being rapidly developed. The high is universally taking the place of the low, beauty is succeeding deformity, the immobility of the savage state is giving place to the bustle, the stir, the lofty and tireless effort of intellectual existence, and a besotted sensualism is yielding before the pure and lovely influences and control of Bible morality. "There be men," says a modern writer, "who think the meat is more than the life, the raiment than the body; who regard the earth as a stable, and the fruit as fodder; who love the corn they grind and the fruit they crush, more than the garden of the angels on the slopes of Eden." We do not deny the existence of this gross and debasing sensualism. But we must not forget they are men, and men too as susceptible of intellectual culture, as those who most admire the scenes of nature, who have the most exquisite taste, who find the keenest relish and largest pleasure in contemplating the wisdom and benevolence manifested in "the garden of the angels on the slopes of Eden." They may now seem to be mere sensual beings—to have bodies without souls. But under the elevating influences of political and religious liberty, of science and morality, these soulless beings, like the chrysalis, shall spring into new life and activity, and the torpid, sightless, thoughtless creature, who seemed only fit to drudge with brutes, shall suddenly become a man of full stature, vieing with angels in the exhibitions of intellect, and in the ceaseless impulsions of a soul-stirring philanthropy. No believer in his Bible will deny that man is capacitated for such improvement; nay, that this is the destiny marked out for him. And now let him but view this destiny; let him gain but one glimpse of the bright career before him, and his listlessness instantly departs, and the desire for improvement becomes active and influential.



*It may be readily granted, scenes have transpired in the political world well calculated to produce discouragement in the mind of him who views events merely in themselves without any connection with a moral governor.* Clouds and darkness seem to cover the whole political horizon. France strikes for liberty; her monarch is dethroned; her ministers, the tools of despotism, fly; there is an upheaving of the nation; the masses are moved as with one spirit; a mighty and universal impulse bears the nation onward; a republican government is established. But our first flush of joy has not passed away, when we behold with feelings of mingled pity and horror, the President of the Republic throwing himself into the arms of the royalist party, and the existence of a monster corruption sufficient to dissolve any social fabric.

The Pope is expelled from Rome, and flies in disguise. Even at Rome the spirit of liberty is not extinct. The nation gives signs of life, and arises with a manifest determination to overthrow the oppressive tyranny which had ground it to the dust. But while it is in the full tide of successful experiment, France, in the sight of heaven, marches forth her *republican armies*, overthrows the feeble bands of the Romans, and prepares the way for the return of the Pope.

Hungary throws off the yoke of Austria, and is successful in withstanding its forces, until diplomacy brings Russia to the aid of Austria, and the efforts of a noble race for independence and social reform are crushed. All Europe seemed to be moved by the same spirit; monarchs have been made to concede, and oppressive governments have become, to some extent, liberal. Even Turkey furnished a temporary asylum for the proscribed and fugitive Hungarians. But in some instances these monarchs have, and in others will find out the means of evading these concessions, of drawing back all they have reluctantly yielded, and of binding the cords more closely around their oppressed subjects.

But what, then? Does it follow that the spirit of liberty which extorted these concessions is extinct? Have we grounds in history to believe, these nations have stagnated,

and that these attempts at social amelioration and political reform will never be renewed? The spirit of liberty is all abroad strengthening the hearts, and instructing the minds and nerving the arms of men. Those very principles which brought on the conflicts that have ended so disastrously, are still like unseen leaven diffusing their influence. Under their operation social reform will silently advance, though its present manifestation be prevented by despotism. The nations are preparing for subsequent efforts; and those efforts must issue ultimately in the overthrow of tyranny, in the emancipation of mind, in vast and incalculable social improvements. The governments of Europe at this moment stand on a volcano. Deep, down in its burning center, oppressors may hear if they will the premonition of coming destruction; and they may see it, also, in the ardent vapors and fitful flames that stream up through the involving smoke and obscurity.

We may find much darker periods in the world's history, and trace with pleasure that silent accumulation of power, that real but unobserved progress, that unostentatious, but rapid collection of energies for the hour of conflict and trial. Look, for instance, at the irruption of the Northern Nations. The Roman Empire at that time embraced nearly all the civilization of the world. The immense swarms that swept down upon it, devoured every green thing, and converted the most delightful part of the world into a desert waste. A universal chaos succeeded. All distinctions of property, every impress made by society, was effaced. It required ten centuries to give to the rigid, unyielding elements of northern barbarism a social form. But the work was finally effected. That element triumphed, and those nations that came so near destroying all social institutions, now furnish specimens of the highest elevation.

During the dark ages feudalism held the sway. Essentially opposed to every branch of human progress, it sat like an incubus upon the energies of all Western Europe. In its very constitution, with its petty sovereignties, its absolute des-

potism, its repulsive regulations, its degrading vassalage, and its predatory wars, it involved the dismemberment of society. But so essential is society to man's interest, that from the midst of this dark and savage system, which seemed to be to it as the valley and shadow of death, it arose and began to perform the functions of a real existence. A species of federative government, in the form of a baronial assembly, was established. To this Suzerain, the minor chief, in order to escape the rapacity and depredations of other plunderers, yielded the right to protect himself and to avenge his own wrongs, just as the individual yields the same right in order to acquire the protection of society. Whoever has analyzed the constitution of society, cannot fail to recognize in this its real existence. The advantages of association, as thus disclosed, suggested the idea of a return to the form of government which had been overthrown. This was monarchy. The kings were too weak to sustain themselves; they, therefore, united with the free cities, the inveterate enemies of these feudal chiefs, and thus consolidated their governments. It cannot be denied that monarchy has frequently retarded the dissolution, and accelerated the formation of society. It was, perhaps, the only form of government capable of abiding in those stormy and perilous times. It became, therefore, the rallying point of nations. And with all its crimes and infamy, with the exhibition, even in its palmiest days and happiest moods, of a power radically antagonistic to the rights of man, we must give it the credit of doing, perhaps, better than any other system could have done, under the circumstances.

But the point to which we especially desire to call attention, is the fact, *that amidst the long, dark night of feudal sway, the human mind did not lose its capability of progress.* It led forth society, in swaddling bands it is true, but still society, from the barbarism which had trod it in the dust, and aimed to terminate its existence. The trammels fell from mind, and liberated mind burst the fetters from science. The tendencies of feudalism were all anti-social; but society was formed notwithstanding, and individual character had a cor-



responding advancement. We have the proof of this in chivalry, in the thirst for whatever was noble and generous, in the stand which woman was permitted to take, and in the literary productions which issued from the castles of the barons. Thus man has improved in the midst of far more unfavorable periods than the present.

The Providence of God seems to open a vista through the gloom that gathers round the darkest period, to cheer man and encourage hope. The recent convulsions, which have apparently terminated so inauspiciously, involving, in Hungary in particular, deeper degradation and more hopeless bondage, will finally issue, if our previous reasonings are well founded, in the freedom of the struggling nations. Who does not know there is a point beyond which you may not compress the atmosphere without extreme hazard ; the possibility of continuing the pressure diminishing with every weight that is added, and the danger accumulating in a fearful ratio. So with man. You may tighten his bands, but you thereby render them more galling, chafe his spirit, make him desperate, and prepare him at any hazard to rend them asunder. We may not infer progress is arrested because it is not seen. Tyranny may have had a temporary triumph only to insure a more marked and certain overthrow. Its triumphs will prove to be an illustration of the old aphorism, *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*. Charles the V., emperor of Germany, had at one time nearly overthrown the protestant cause ; the protestant princes were captured, and the work was near being finished, when Maurice of Saxony arrested his progress, turned back his victorious armies, and even the emperor himself with difficulty escaped being captured. Reforms of the most valuable kind, those which deeply affect the morals of a nation, and lay a broad and permanent basis for subsequent improvements, may be progressing rapidly, though silently and unobtrusively as the light of dawn steals upon our world. Vice is thus quietly depressed ; the love of freedom and social progress becomes more enlightened, more active, more

enduring ; and all virtues acquire a more vigorous existence even by the very storms of the atmosphere where they thrive. When the time comes to put them forth, the proprietors of these virtues will find themselves in possession of a moral power, almost as surprising to themselves as to despotism itself. We can only estimate the value which enlightened men place upon their social rights and religious liberties, by their efforts and sacrifices to maintain them. Here you may carry man forward to any hazard of "life, property, and sacred honor." Deprive him of those rights after they have been once enjoyed, and he is reduced to a despair which fits him for any encounter. The love of freedom, and the despair which results from privation, lurk at this moment in the hearts of thousands of individuals in Europe, and are working with no less activity and power, because both the agents and effects are invisible. Governments struggle in vain to suppress this love of freedom, and to substitute servility and blind submission. The history of the world furnishes indubitable evidence, that man might as well hope to put out the sweltering fires of a volcano, by pouring water into its crater, as to extinguish this spirit. It is a flame lighted with a coal from heaven's own altar, and burns inextinguishable within the human breast. It is a spirit not only harmonious with human interests, but in direct league with heaven, and will be supported by all the perfection of infinite attributes.

*The period of the Reformation will furnish facts of the utmost importance in forming a correct judgment in relation to future progress.* To estimate these facts correctly we should consider what was peculiar to the times and in the circumstances. The day star dawned long before this moral sun arose with so much splendor. The free cities first gave evidence that social life was not extinct. Though they had been incorporated with the feudal system and sunk down in its degradation, they were the first to arise therefrom. Their enfranchisement dates at the beginning of the eleventh century. Some of them by degrees dared to exercise municipal rights, and to assume the sovereign power ; timidly, at first, as



though it were a crime to think of freedom ; but with more boldness as their minds became familiarized to the idea. From so small beginnings society moved on to a bolder assertion of its rights, to more fearless aggressions, to a more daring assault upon feudal institutions, until, in their weakness and decrepitude, it acquired the firmness and fearlessness of permanent organization.

Other events contributed to hasten the manumission of mind. The followers of John Huss supported themselves and maintained their religious liberty against the whole power of the House of Austria, then so much in the ascendant as to threaten to acquire the empire of the world. The hardy Swiss mountaineers, with all of Spartan valor, had defeated the Austrian forces, thrown up an insurmountable barrier against the tide of oppression, and taught mankind another lesson of great practical value. Despite every effort of Anti-Christ, the cords of superstition were gradually slackening. The enormous wickedness of the Roman hierarchy itself contributed to bring about this *denouement*, to open men's eyes, and to make them view the absurdity and blasphemy of its claims. It had endeavored to render science entirely inaccessible to the people. Knowledge, to the reigning superstition, was more terrible than an army with banners. The study of the languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, was prohibited, as pernicious to the faith ; and the perusal of the scriptures was a still higher offence. And when whole swarms of drivelling and polluted ascetics were insufficient to extinguish the love of liberty, and efface the image of God from the soul of man, the accursed auto-de-fe was celebrated, and the inquisition opened its engines of torture upon society.

But mind had received too strong an impulse from recent events to be thus fettered. In defiance of Pope, and Cardinal, and engines of torture, men began to study the languages, and to translate the scriptures. Various branches of science were taught, not stealthily, but openly, while princes lent their aid to progress, by countenancing both in-

novation and innovators. Worse than the plagues of Egypt multiplied around the gay and gallant Medicis, who had just assumed the tiara. Discovery succeeded discovery. One remarkable event followed another. Vasco de Gama found out a passage to the Indies around the Cape of Good Hope; Columbus discovered America. Gunpowder, the compass, and painting in oil were discovered; which last contributed to the cultivation of taste, and excited a love of the fine arts, by filling Europe with its master pieces. At the same period, there was another discovery which opened on the church a worse than Pandora's box of evils. This was the art of printing, destined to wield more influence over mind, and to contribute more largely to progress than all the other events of that prolific era. Great political events transpired also within the period embraced in the Reformation. Such were the secularization of the Knights of the Teutonic order by which Prussia was created; Sweden raised into national existence by Gustavus Vasa; a powerful republic arose in Holland; the struggles of Elizabeth, Queen of England, the political representative of Protestantism, against Philip II of Spain; and constitutional monarchy was established on a firm basis in England. We cannot spend time even to enumerate the great events of this period. If we turn to the philosophical world, Lord Bacon brings about a revolution there, as thorough, as marked, as comprehensive as had been effected in relation to the political and moral condition of man. The natural world, as if to prepare an appropriate theater for expanding mind, enlarged her borders, while the nations poured forth colonies to occupy the new territories. Colonial establishments, intellectual improvements, the appearance of great men, and the increase of freedom were little superior as evidences of advancement, to the widening sphere and new activity of commerce. Let the lover of his race contemplate the number and magnitude of the events, recorded by every historian of the period, which transpired in so short a time, and then consider the agents were men just issuing from

the degradation, ignorance, and immobility of the dark ages, and he will need no clearer proofs of the immense capacities of mind, of the immeasurable resources of intellectual existence. Every political excitement, every social development, every discovery of science, every moral achievement, was stamped with singular magnitude. Every movement bore the same expansive features. Mind, down-trodden and enslaved for centuries, arose in its might, and shook terribly the earth. The old foundations gave way; the bulwarks of despotism were overthrown; suppliant tyrants and suppliant priests plead in vain for an arrest—that the torrent might be stayed. It rolled onward regardless of their prayers, bearing away the accumulated rubbish of ages.

But the most distinguished event of this remarkable era was the Reformation itself. It stands forth conspicuous among them; and so far as social progress was concerned, the choice of means and the direction of energy, it was the parent of them all. Other events were fashioned and energized by finite minds; in this an infinite intelligence stands revealed. Human instruments appear; secondary causes are seen at work; intellectual effort is put forth; men unite in new organizations: but the very agents that appear, proclaim the presence, wisdom, and power of an infinite agent, accomplishing stupendous designs, and reaching final results, far beyond the measure of finite intelligence. Under God, we may regard the reformation as a vast effort of mind to achieve its freedom. It was mind in progress; mind, breaking away from unreasonable restraints, and demanding the rights of private judgment; it was a spurning, an utter rejection of human authority, over mind; it was rebellion in its most stern and determined aspects, against intellectual and moral despotism: it was God in league with man, human weakness rendered efficient by divine power.

But great as was the progress of man at the time the reformation received its birth, we must not make our calculations of future progress by this standard. That was a pe-



riod barely succeeding one of universal stagnation. If light had appeared it was only to reveal in the body social and political malformation, decrepitude, and imbecility. If a principle of order had been introduced into the chaos, it had not yet assimilated the conflicting elements which were fermenting all around it. There was little unity, little centralization, no equilibrium, no common platform on which men could stand to rear up the social fabric. The very foundations of society had to be laid, and laid too, not in peace, but in tears and blood. Then, the nations had been down trodden for ages, and degraded by the most abject vassallage; now, for more than three centuries, they have stood erect, with an elevating consciousness of individual rights and of human destiny. Then, knowledge was shut up in cloisters as the miser hoards his gold, and the penalty of appropriating it was even greater than that of theft; now, it is regarded as an immaterial commodity, upon which every child of man may seize without pains or penalties, with all its intrinsic value, free as the light of heaven, or as the water of the mountain stream. The influence of religious principle was then almost unfelt; now, it furnishes a thousand springs to benevolent action, and moves society forward with heaven-born force in the way of improvement. No clear example of a people governing themselves had then been given; now, we have an illustrious example: a nation choosing its own rulers, making its own laws, compelling universal respect by its laws, its governmental energy, its commerce, its literature, orators, statesman, scholars, and its benevolent institutions—and that country, not a German principality, containing as much territory as one of our counties, but half a continent, an empire itself. Then, the authoritative mandate of a spiritual despot was *believe*; but *investigate and yield only to conviction* is the watchword of liberated mind, as it is also the recognized behest of Jehovah. The bloody Inquisition then stifled knowledge in its birth, and hurried its votaries into eternity; now, the chains are broken from mind, the oppressive weight is lifted from conscience; man dares to in-

investigate any subject within the proper range of human thought, and exultingly goes forth in the wide field of mental freedom, to develop the powers with which heaven has distinguished him, and to enjoy, in facts discovered, in secrets ravished from nature, a realization of his creator's beneficence in making him to "Know more than the beasts of the field, and to be wiser than the fowls of the air." The progress of the reformation was great; but this was only the preface to the volume. It shows what man was when emerging from slavery; the extent of progress, of which he is susceptible is to be determined by future experiments. The period is at hand when those experiments will be made upon the grandest scale; the means are available to realize a successful issue: and we dwell, I doubt not, among the people chosen to attain the highest point of social perfectability, that can be reached in this world. After three centuries man is fairly launched on the ocean of progress. The boundless future and illimitable fields are before him. The seasons will still change; one generation after another will pass away; but human susceptibilities for progress will continually be developing. And America, with her free government, her extended coasts, her vast commercial connections, her indomitable Anglo-Saxon spirit, is to be the fountain head of moral and intellectual power—elected to this destiny—to be the great leader and abetter of social progress throughout the world.

*Progress will be attained by the diminution of labor.* It begins in the use of labor-saving machines. Every step man advances from the savage state is marked by the invention or improvement of machines to lighten labor. The means for the accomplishment of this end are at present so rapidly multiplying, that man seems to be approaching the condition of his early existence, ere the curse, "thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy brow," was exacted of him. And this must go on increasing. Man will press physical agents into his service, and make them do his drudgery; not depriving himself of the opportunity of labor, but greatly

lightening it, and multiplying its products to an incredible extent. He calls to his aid, Caloric, Gravitation, Expansibility, Compressibility, Electricity, Chemical Affinities and Repulsions. Though these are agents, if rightly applied, of sufficient power to burst a sphere or shiver a world, yet man chains them to his car, unites them with his machinery, and wields, by his individual superintendence, vastly more power than any adjustment of muscular strength, could enable him to apply to a given object. Indeed, the time has come when extravagant conjecture, in relation to the results of human skill and intelligence, is almost out of the question. You can assume nothing, this side of the infinite, that is absurd or impossible, unless it is a demonstrable contradiction. It is not too much to infer, that the being who can chain the lightning, measure the universe, overcome the winds and the tides, and drive his cars with such velocity over the earth—can make all material nature, the high and the low, its most obvious and most subtle agents—the volcano, the storm, and the very earthquake itself subservient to his will. From existence and accountability, intelligence and power are inseparable. These all exist in man. Compared with the power of that Being, who has given “bounds to the ocean, that it cannot pass,” human power is as nothing and vanity; but, withdrawing our eyes from the infinite, where they are dazzled “with excess of light,” we may properly contemplate the vast results of finite power directed by intelligence.

It has been objected that the introduction of labor-saving machines, will deprive man of the opportunity of labor.

Were this true, we admit they would be an evil rather than a good. Were we discussing a question of political economy, we could easily show, by unanswerable argument, that the objection is without foundation. But it will be sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that experience has proved it wholly untrue—the greatest changes effected by the introduction of natural agents being favorable to the laborer, viz.: lighter work and higher wages.

The physical improvement resulting from the use of ma-



chinery, lays at the foundation of another and a higher one: time for intellectual improvement. Nearly the whole of man's time is spent in depressing and consuming labors, to obtain those objects of desire essential to personal and family comfort. There is, therefore, no time left for mental cultivation. Machinery, with man's superintendence, will perform the same labor, much better, in a much shorter time, and with much less exhaustion to those who are employed about it. Leisure is thus obtained for intellectual pursuits. The acquisition of mental power is the first result. This will lead to an improvement of the machinery by which labor was at first diminished, or to the invention of new machinery; and in either case more leisure for intellectual pursuits is the result. Leisure and intelligence must thus reciprocally operate on each other, rapidly and directly elevating the race in their social condition. Industry within proper bounds and intelligence generally keep company. It is to this association that we owe our elevation above the savage. Uncivilized man has a narrow circle of wants, because his knowledge is limited. Increase his knowledge and his wants will increase; and with the multiplication of wants comes a greater ability to supply them. The happiness of the barbarous state, based upon this freedom from want, is frequently obtruded before us. But the savage wants little because he knows little. Would any American be willing to exchange places with the slave, though in so doing he would be freed from the cares and anxieties of citizenship? Would any man be willing to spend his days in a dark ravine, his view bounded on every side by high mountains, simply because he would thus be freed from the wants which a more extensive prospect would involve? True to his nature, the mountain barriers would stimulate him to effort, especially if their precipitous sides seemed to frown in defiance. Climbing to the very highest point of some Alpine summit, and feeling his pulse quickened and his nerves braced by the invigorating mountain atmosphere, he would look off upon the bright prospect of forest, and field, and inland lake, and

river pouring its waters on to the ocean, and the ocean rolling its waves till in the distance sea and sky seem blended, not fearing the expansion of his desires nor the increase of his wants. The identity of happiness with savage life, will find a good illustration in the argument of Fluellen, to prove the resemblance between Macedonia and Monmouth. The identity is about as clearly made out in the one case as in the other. "There is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my brains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis so like as my finger to my finger, and there are salmon in both." Let the minds of men be cultivated, let the knowledge of their wants be increased; pressing wants will arouse even the sloth, and make him perform the painful operation of moving: and they will stimulate men to industry. Knowledge of our wants involves both intelligence and industry; and intelligence and indolence, ignorance and industry, are alike antipodean.

The great inventions of modern times are steam navigation, railroads, and the telegraph. These must, in the very nature of things, have a vast influence on man for weal or woe. They increase the means for national and international communication many fold, furnish immense facilities for commerce, and bring the farthest parts of the world in hailing distance of each other. We contemplate with amazement these huge agents, these mighty instruments of human invention; as they thunder across our continent, or plough the ocean, or transmit intelligence from point to point with the speed of the lightning. While the philosopher, surveying the triumphs of science and the field of victory, exultingly cries out, What next? What splendid creation of the human intellect will next appear? the philanthropist, in doubtful mood, anxiously inquires, What will be the result? The masses are moving in every direction and commingling on every side. Old ocean is no longer a barrier. Distance is a word nearly obsolete. Man has become a scatterling



without being a vagabond. How will all this issue? We think principles have already been laid down which will guide us to a satisfactory conclusion.

The first result we notice is *the immense commercial facilities which are thus presented to society*. Commerce must be greatly increased and extended as the result of these inventions. This is indisputable. Now, is commerce friendly to human progress? In answer to this question, we would invite attention to a few facts.

Commerce pervades every part of society, and its existence is coeval therewith. No man in the civilized state lives wholly on the products of his own labor. He exchanges their excess for the products of the labors of others; and thus commercial connections, necessarily growing out of the divisions of labor are established, which run through all the departments of life, and pervade and regulate the business of the world.

*Commerce leads to the physical well-being of man.* It is a fact noticed by almost every historian, that early civilization commenced on the shores of seas and large navigable rivers. In this respect the Mediterranean was peculiarly favored. It was the birth place of civilization, and for a long period the center of the world known to history. When society was formed elsewhere, it was on the Nile, the Ganges, and the large navigable rivers of China. Thus civilization and commerce are so intimately associated, that they have uniformly taken their existence at the same time. But national decline, the retrograde movement of society, dates also from the period in which commercial connections from any cause were broken up. It was the destruction of the commerce of the towns in the Western Roman Empire, which caused it to sink down into the torpor, ignorance, and degradation of the dark ages. When the light of civilization again shone upon them, the same union still existed. The towns paid enormous taxes, yet they were permitted to hold property. Their mechanics and tradesmen travelled from place to place to sell their goods, and this, for a time, constituted

their entire commerce. Their social condition was very little superior to that of our African slaves. But their commerce, simple and unpretending as it was, silently elevated them, giving them distant glimpses of social rights until finally they asserted their independence.

*Wealth, which is another mark of physical well being, is as closely connected with commerce as civilization.* The system of primogeniture and entail, by which, in feudal times, property descended to the oldest son, and was continued in the elder branch of the family, was eminently opposed to social interests, as it was opposed to general wealth. The tendency of lineal succession was not only to beggar a family, but a race. It lay at the foundation of a degrading system of slavery, that extinguished every high aspiration, destroyed all enterprise, and rendered the masses abject and spiritless. As slaves they could acquire no right in the soil; and they, therefore, had, beyond the supply of present wants, no stimulus to labor. Any improvement of their condition was impossible. And for this natural, and powerfully operative motive, it substituted one that was weak and unsteady, viz.: the fear of punishment. Now this motive can have but little influence, except where there is consciousness of guilt. When this is the case, man pronounces his own condemnation beforehand, goes out to anticipate the punishment, and when it is inflicted, acknowledges its justice. Take away his sense of guilt, and punishment can have, as a motive, very little influence. At least it can never produce the industry essential to wealth. Ancient serfdom, like modern slavery, assumed for the master all personal and moral responsibility on the part of the slave, and left him destitute of any stimulus to effort. Nature has taught every man that he is sole proprietor of his physical, mental, and moral natures, considered as means of happiness. This principle is written indelibly on the soul of every man. No system of slavery, no crushing tyranny can efface it. It is the hand writing of God. When punishment is inflicted, the slave feels it is because he will not submit to an usurped power in

direct violation of rights that are incorporated with his very being. Punishment may make him a liar, dishonest, or convert him into an enemy of his kind—a human fiend—but it can never make him frugal or industrious. “Work as little, and eat as much as possible,” will be their rule. Deprive man of the natural stimulus to production, and he becomes a drivelling, powerless creature, or a vicious and dangerous one. It is only when man begins to accumulate, to realize the reward of effort, and above all, to possess a clear, well defined, and well guarded right of property, that he begins to advance. Social progress dates from this period. Then man begins to live for an object congenial with his nature, and worthy of his destination ; peace and plenty, home and quiet, are the rewards of his industry.

Science, in modern times, has thrown away her lordly airs, her tinsel and finery, and clothing herself in homespun, has become the companion of every rustic. Thus we have the science that regulates commercial exchange—the science of political economy. Science has assumed a new, but most appropriate sphere, in teaching us how to direct our industry to the most profitable ends—that is, how to become wealthy—and in so doing ministers largely to progress. Wealth is the offspring of industry. Increase the industry of a people, and you increase their wealth ; turn them away from seeking wealth as an object, and you involve them in indolence, and all the mischievous consequences inseparable therefrom.

Let us turn to history and learn lessons from the experience and wisdom of the past. We shall at once perceive that wealth and refinement, financial prosperity and social improvement are inseparable. Examine the history of the present times, and our own country. With what surprising rapidity are the products of human industry being accumulated. The improvements in nautical science have rendered the ocean more entirely subservient to the will of man. Science has enabled man to harness on the steam engine to help out the wind ; and between steam and wind unparalleled activity and enterprise are introduced into the commercial world.



Steam is also employed as an auxiliary to water in propelling our machinery ; and thus the products of human industry, and consequently wealth, are multiplied many fold: and refinement and social elevation have a corresponding progress. We do not deny that wealth may purchase luxuries, and luxuries will enervate ; that is the abuse of wealth involves a state opposed to high intellectual and moral culture. But those who make this objection entirely lose sight of the fact that poverty involves incessant and painful struggles to supply the wants of the body, and leads to acts of fraud, dishonesty, and theft. If wealth stands opposed to the prosperity of a nation, it must be to their physical, intellectual, or moral prosperity. It cannot now be assumed to stand opposed to physical prosperity, for that is the point under consideration, and all men agree, that a wealthy people are so far in a state of physical well being. It is the abuse of wealth, and not wealth itself, that conflicts with morals. The very principles that a pure, exalted, Bible morality inculcates as essential to virtuous character, such as self-denial, industry, and frugality, necessarily lead on to wealth. It cannot conflict with intellectual prosperity. In times of peace, when men increase in wealth, and every department of society enjoys the blessing of competency, the arts flourish, discoveries are made, researches are prosecuted, facts accumulate and science advances. Were a traveler to be desirous of describing the prosperity of a country, would he not do it by referring to the sources of its prosperity—its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce ? He would speak of the fertility of its soil, its high state of cultivation, the number and extent of its manufactories, the busy hum of its workshops, its navigable rivers, its capacious harbors, the extent of its shipping, and its thoroughfares ; and he would be thought insane, who would attempt to describe the deranged, prostrated, or ruined condition of a country with these terms.

It would be an easy task to draw from history many incontestable facts bearing on the same point. Why did not



Sparta enjoy the prosperity of Athens? The Athenians were a commercial people, and consequently wealthy, while Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, effectually cut off the Spartans, from both, by making iron their circulating medium—their money.

The oppressive governments of Europe prohibited the Jews from holding real estate. They, therefore, betook themselves to commerce, and have become the bankers of the world, and at no distant period seem likely by one means and another, to wield the political destinies of Europe.

But we have already intimated, that while commerce directly tends to the wealth of a nation, wealth contributes to the rapid improvement of the social state. "It is certain," says McCulloch, "that comparative barbarism and refinement of nations depend more on the comparative amount of their wealth, than on any other circumstance. *A poor people are never refined, nor a rich people ever barbarous.* It is impossible to name a single nation which has made any considerable progress in the fine arts, without having been at the same time celebrated for its wealth. The age of Pericles and Phidias was the flourishing age of Grecian, as the age of Petrarch and Raphael was of Italian commerce. The influence of wealth in this respect is almost omnipotent. It raised Venice from the bosom of the deep, and made the desert and sandy islands on which she is built, and the unhealthy swamps of Holland, the abodes of science and art. In our own country (England) its effects have been equally striking. The number and eminence of our philosophers, poets, scholars, and artists have ever increased as the public wealth, or the means of rewarding and honoring their labors have increased."\*

Commerce effects the social condition more extensively than has yet been intimated. *All progress in society is both preceded and accompanied by a more felicitous organization; by new life and energy infused into the social relations.* Under this

\*McCulloch's Principles, Part I.

vivifying influence, they put on new forms of beauty, order, authority, and acquire new power to influence the destiny of man. But commerce, as we have already seen, contributes directly to bring about this result. It was so on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Nile. It was so with the municipalities of Germany, with Venice, and Holland. It has aroused man from lethargy ; brought him into closer connection with his fellow man ; lead to the extensive cultivation of the soil, and to a better condition and new activity throughout all the social fabric. The physical condition of man being improved, his intellectual and moral progress follows of consequence. There is so close a connection between them, that the existence of one is the certain pledge of the existence of the other. Of the truth of this position the wary despot is fully apprized. To prohibit all improvements is to prevent or greatly retard social amelioration. They therefore labor to smother progress in its infancy, to strangle the infant Hercules in his cradle. Let them so far improve man's physical condition, that the profits of his labor will not be absorbed by oppressive taxation ; that the jealous supervision and censorship of works of science shall cease ; that it shall no longer be treason to utter the words liberty and rights, and the result will not be more visible in his physical, than in his moral and intellectual condition. Mind emerging from its degrading vassallage will luxuriate in its freedom ; its ample powers will be developed, and the number, brilliancy, energy and grandeur of its creations shall mark the extent of its progress. The fountain of human sensibility will have been smitten, and streams of sympathy, benevolence, and love, will flow out to gladden and refresh the earth. Break up social bondage and you emancipate mind. Physical progress, then, involves the cultivation of literature and morality. If, then, commerce, as we have largely shown, leads to the bettering of man's physical condition ; if it gives vital energy and activity to social relations, and leads to their extensive developement and efficient organization : then the facilities for commerce,

which are multiplying until the wildest conjecture is exceeded by the sober realities of actual existence, argues favorably for the universal diffusion of knowledge, and the general cultivation of morality. Indeed, we shall find upon examination, that commerce not more closely identified with *wealth* than with improvements in science and general morality.

The two great events in the political history of the world, the discovery of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and of America, are intimately connected with commerce. It was the desire of the Portugese for the extension of their commerce, which led to the discovery of America in 1492, and of a passage around the Cape to Hindostan in 1497. While the end for which these expeditions were planned, was realized, a result more remote, but not less sure and interesting, remained to be enjoyed. We doubt not, these events will do more toward the universal spread of virtue, the wide diffusion of knowledge and the general freedom of mankind, than all other discoveries put together. America furnished a resting place to our ancestors, driven out from the Mother Country by persecution. Leaving England, they took possession of the New World, from that moment to be distinguished for virtue, science, freedom, progress. It is yet the home of the oppressed, the resting place of the poor and unfortunate of every nation, who visit its shores. It has become a kind of general sensorium from which a vital influence is distributed throughout society. Plymouth Rock will from henceforth be regarded as the birth-place of liberty. Here, at least, for the first time, liberty stood erect, all her movements natural and unconstrained, and her eye lighting up with indescribable pleasure, as she surveyed her wide domain of mountain and valley, of forest and river, and inland sea, and her heart exulting over prospective achievements and glorious results.

But increased commercial facilities are not the only effects which will follow from steam navigation and railroads *Man will thereby be brought into contact with man the world over*



*from which will follow results of immeasurable influence upon social progress.* There are certain periods in the history of the world distinguished from all others by the onward movements of society. An unaccountable influence seems all at once to pervade men's minds : or, rather, unanticipated effects follow from causes that were hitherto either wholly inoperative or inefficient. Suddenly the resources of society, of literature, and morals are surprisingly augmented ; healthful principles are propogated ; society is regenerated, and performs its functions with new vigor ; humanity makes large acquisitions ; its rights are clearly defined and understood ; and tyranny, vice, and ignorance are essentially weakened and depressed. We cannot avoid the conviction that these sudden impulses, these rapid changes, bearing man forward to higher social attainments, are indications of a final destination for our race, so elevated, so peaceful, so universally harmonious with human interests, that even the conception is difficult, if not impossible, in our present disordered condition. And we can but hail the means, through which men will be brought into intimate relations, and the developements of science, of morality, of the social condition, shall be experimentally tested and exemplified in the eyes of all men, as efficient, if not chief auxiliaries in the accomplishment of this great work. The time is not distant when men will feel that he who "made of one blood all nations of men," made them with an identical interest. Intercourse will hasten the period when dissocializing principles being rooted out, and the strife which has swept over our earth being extinguished, the pulsations of "the great heart of humanity" will send kindred streams through all the ramifications of universal society. Were this merely a hypothesis, unsustained by evidence, it might be the subject of delightful contemplation. But it is no Utopia. Inspiration has placed its broad seal upon this grand and cheering truth, and we may contemplate it not only as a desirable object, but as one the fruition of which will certainly be realized. It requires no extraordinary discernment to discover



that these stupendous inventions are designed to accomplish an end far more valuable than a mere purpose of convenience, or their contribution to the means and refinements of physical enjoyment. *There is a manifest and intimate relation between these agents and the diffusion of knowledge and morality.* Says Prof. Morse, "We are on the eve of a new era in the history of man. Soon the surface of the earth will be covered with a net-work of wire, connecting all its cities and towns, and along these wires, as along the nerves of the human body, the commands of a central will may be instantaneously and simultaneously communicated to the remotest extremities. Man will thus put on the earth for his body, animate it with his soul, and become the Lord of Creation." When this net-work of wire shall have been completed, the discoveries, experiments, and progress, in one country, will be instantaneously communicated to all others. The intelligence that can control the electric agent, and construct automatic machinery that will record events happening in one place, the next instant in another many hundred miles distant, will derive from the same agent other and larger advantages affecting the interests and welfare of man. The contact of mind will go far, towards forming men in fact into a universal brotherhood, establishing the principles of civil liberty, and of a pure and elevated morality. In these, for the present world, are centered all man's interests. Here are found the elements of his life, the bliss of his being, the crowning honors of his existence. We cease to contemplate these objects with any high degree of pleasure if they do not lead to such results. Mere force, however great, or however ingeniously applied, is, with us, an object of very trifling moment. The renovation of one moral being, or the least progress of the race is infinitely more worthy of our admiration than the greatest force in existence. The important inquiry in relation to every new discovery is, Will it contribute to human progress? This is the central idea. Others are more or less valuable as they stand in more or less intimate connections with this.

In this position we are neither singular nor enthusiastic ; for all men feel and judge in a similar manner. Much as ignorance has degraded mankind, and beclouded their judgments, in this respect, they clearly discern their true interests. They discern between the beneficiaries and the destroyers of mankind. Mention in the same category, the names of the greatest emperors and generals that have figured in our world, with the names of Bacon and Newton, Wesley and Howard. The most ignorant and besotted, at all acquainted with the characters of the men, would be offended with the juxtaposition. The incongruity of the comparison between the destroyers of mankind, and those who have done so much in the scientific and moral world for its elevation and happiness, would be painfully apparent. Indeed, it is only as literature itself is linked with human progress and destiny, that we deem it valuable. The world ! The interests of mankind ! Whatever is leagued with these, is destined to an earthly 'immortality. He who writes for the times cannot hope for posthumous fame. A partizan press makes no permanent offering at the shrine of science. The stream that flows from a temporary or sectional interest must soon run dry. He that would reach the ocean must launch his bark on the noble, majestic river, whose force and volume of waters are too great to meet with a successful barrier ; not upon the dashing, fretting torrent, which soon exhausts itself in spray, or, reaching the foot of the mountain, empties itself into some stagnant pond without an outlet. The works of Lord Bacon, whose expansive mind took hold on this world-wide interest, and the Georgics of Virgil, written, as is supposed, to promote agriculture, an interest identified in more than one way with human happiness, will be read and retain all their freshness while the world stands.

But these mighty agents are manifestly connected with this upward and onward movement of society. The increasing intercourse they will secure, will break down the barriers between the nations ; human affections will no longer be

bounded and checked by natural lines ; and man, instead of being an American, an Englishman, will consider himself a citizen of the world. And as if to prepare the way for the full effect of these agents, civilized Europe is now pouring itself out upon the uncultivated parts of our earth. French, and German, and English colonies will soon be found in every part of the world. Who can tell what humanizing, enlightening, elevating effects will not be realized as the result of universal intercourse. It will lift the debased and degraded out of the dust ; it will exalt merit, destroy tyranny, terminate war. What has caused wars but the contrivances of rulers, and the irrational antipathies of nations. Intercourse, by creating a fellowship of nations, a confederacy of interests, will remove these antipathies, and call into action such affections as will render it impossible any more to embroil the nations in war. The roads thrown open by these agents will be the highways of our world's progress. Take one instance. What is likely to result from the contemplated road across Panama ? California gold will secure its construction, and it will become the passage way of the world. A hardy, commercial race will ever be passing and repassing on this short but grand thoroughfare. And what effects will such contact produce upon the nations adjacent ? It will raise their drivelling intellects, and impel their supine bodies into activity. Listlessness will give way to industry, anarchy to order, savagism to refinement, heathenism to religion ; and moral health and beauty will spread over the face of redeemed society.

And generally the effect of these agencies in bringing the most distant parts of the world together, will be to elevate and improve the social condition. The means of travel are likely to be so perfected, that man may make the tour of the world in about the same time it formerly required to make a voyage to Europe. Leaving his home in the west, he may pause a moment in his flight at Niagara to hear the roar of its waters, and to see the beautiful rainbow which arches this prodigious display of the powers of nature. With scarcely



time intervening in which to take a long breath, he is in New York ; another week in Europe. Taking the cars he may visit the towering Alps, or hie him away to Greece, to roam over "its temple crowned hills," or view its specimens of ancient architecture, particularly the remains of the Parthenon, the magnificent temple of Minerva in the Acropolis of Athens. Having surveyed its broken pillars, the beautiful fragments which still remain as mementoes of its former grandeur, he may, if he desire, see the rest of its remains by a short trip to England, where he will find them safely deposited in the British Museum, whither the all grasping Anglo-Saxon has borne them. Let him take his journey again, and visit the desert cities on the banks of the Nile ; and contemplate the remains of sculptured grottoes, obelisks, columns, sphinxes, colossal statues, and pyramids—the monuments of the skill and industry of by-gone ages. Let the iron horse then bear him over those desolate regions where the showers of heaven never fall, the dreary African desert, denominated by a Latin poet *Arida nutrix leonum*. Passing thence he may trace, through regions of exhaustless fertility, the Niger to its source, and visit Liberia from henceforth to be celebrated as the beginning point of African civilization. Entering Asia by the isthmus of Suez, he may visit Hindostan, and China, and Palestine ; and every day, and perhaps every hour of this immense tour, send an account of his progress by the lightning line to his family ; and, probably, in less than two months from the time he left home again enjoy the happiness of his own domestic circle. Who, with modern improvements in view, will say this is visionary ? Even now arrangements are being made for an Anglo-Indian railway. And while commerce is bearing along these railroads, extending over vast continents, the abounding products of every clime, a dense mass of human beings will move along the same roads. Intellect will be brought into contact with uncultivated powers, art with barbarous rudeness, enlightenment with mere civilization, truth with error, liberty with despotism, and a pure morality, clothed with the sanction of



divinity, with deceptive forms, as destitute of any saving element, of any vivifying principle as the statues of the ancient gods. When the world of mind is thus suddenly thrown open before percipient and sentient beings, who can tell the effect? Who can calculate the results of such a revelation on man, one of whose strongest propensities is curiosity, and who, in his lowest state of degradation, can scarcely be supposed to be uninfluenced thereby? Mind, naturally inquisitive, will be found busied with the countless number and variety of interesting facts which science will unfold. Curiosity will feed on the wonders of science, and all its power and influence on the soul be rendered active by that on which it feeds. One truth investigated, curiosity is stimulated, and impels to farther investigation. The field once entered, ten thousand interesting objects will attract awakened mind onward, until the whole field is explored. Let the thirst for knowledge once be excited, and with the opportunity for gratification, man will not be content, until he has drank at every fountain. Who that has stood upon the banks of a stream and viewed its graceful, serpentine course through the valley, has not felt a strong desire almost irresistably impelling him to trace it to its mountain source, where purer than the nectar of the gods, it gushes forth from the rock, to start on the errand of health and love with which its Maker has charged it; and who, having gratified this desire, has not the next moment felt himself impelled by the same propensity to follow it downward to the place where it pours its expanded volume of waters into the mighty ocean. Man desires to see the end from the beginning. Mind once awakened continues to act. The wheels of that mighty spiritual engine must from that moment forever be in motion. It is the mental constitution which God has given us. And it is a fact worthy of observation, that when curiosity is first excited, the propensity is more active and will lead to greater exertion in seeking gratification than subsequently. It is on this principle that there are epochs in the world's history, when an age of progress is accomplished in a very brief pe-

riod. Such an era was that of the reformation. How did prostrate mind arise under the influence of newly discovered truth. The contrast is scarcely greater between childhood and manhood, than between the men of the reformation and the same men immediately preceding it. It was as though the infant of days had instantaneously acquired the physical and intellectual vigor of manhood. Luther from the cell of his convent and from the study of his chained Bible sent an awakening thrill through the world of mind. He struck a chord which vibrated in every soul. Truth suddenly stood revealed in all its lovely proportions, and in its contrasts with error; and regenerated man came forth to rejoice in its light, to be elevated by its influence, to seize and appropriate it as God's best gift to man.

We speak of the moral sublimity of Luther's position. And surely we would not utter one word to detract from it. Few if any since the days of apostolic heroism have stood in one that more fully deserved such a designation. But others have performed acts that in all the attributes of moral greatness were fully equal to his. The essential difference is, those of Luther were connected with a world-wide movement, that gave them at the same time success and immortality. And our admiration of the individual is swallowed up in our admiration of the wonderful movements of the masses, the progress of society, the prodigious energy, the vast comprehension, the incessant activity, and exhaustless resources of intellect. The moral and intellectual improvement of man so far exceeded all previous conceptions of human capacities, that the patrons of ignorance were utterly confounded, and could do little more than stand still and curse the light, which, from every part of the moral heavens, was pouring in upon the darkness of the world. But to the influence of truth thus strangely discovered, the world of mind yielded as readily as does the ocean to the impulses of the wind.

It is not in itself, grand and imposing as this history is, that we most delight to view it. It has a prospective bear-

ing. It reveals the future to us. It shows man in a new and most interesting attitude, and invests us almost with prescience in regard to the destiny of our race. The forces that Luther brought to bear upon despotism and ignorance were not more than half developed. Their strength was checked "in mid volley." Only a single agent was at first employed. Luther against the world. And when subsequently they were multiplied, Charles V. Emperor of Germany, a bigoted Catholic, was at hand to crush with power wherever it was practicable incipient reformation, and to deter, with all the patronage of the empire, persons from yielding to its sway. Consider also that science could then render comparatively but little aid. It was refined until it was wholly unsuited to any particular purpose. The philosophy of facts—inductive science was then almost unknown. Instead of this, they had a pitiful ontology, composed of flimsy sophism, and ridiculous subtleties dressed up in the garb of philosophy. Such a science was about as well adapted to the wants of men, as a delicately raised city beau to the ever moving energy and enterprise of the west. No Bible Society was then sending forth ship loads of Bibles printed in every language. No Educational Societies stood ready to pour the light of knowledge upon the darkness of ignorance. No Peace Societies were laboring to extinguish the flames of war. No Sabbath Schools creating reverence in the minds of countless numbers of children, for sacred things—cultivating the love of freedom and the spirit of philanthropy. None of these powerful auxiliaries in the cause of truth and righteousness, now so effective, was then in existence. What then will be the probable result, when, through the medium of intercourse, the nations are drawn into one great household, and all these means, blessed and favored by heaven, are brought to bear at one time upon the social condition? It requires no prophet's ken to answer this question. Society will be impelled into a course of improvement unparalleled in the history of the world; the crown will fall from the head of the despot; the abject nations will no



longer kiss the foot that tramples them in the dust; the shout of freedom will echo over the whole earth, and the serfs of Russia shall unite with the Tartar hordes of Asia, and these with the oppressed Africans, and shall swell the living torrents that are pouring on to the goal of freedom. God has said, let man be free, and in the mighty sweep of his providences, the means are ordained, and in operation for the accomplishment of this glorious end.

But do facts bear us out in our position, that when truths are presented, the heathen mind will investigate them? If time would allow, we could adduce any amount of testimony in favor of this position which could be desired. But it is unnecessary. Without waiting to collect facts from history, we have the proof within man. Indeed so universally and so undeniably operative is curiosity, so powerfully does it sway the soul, and collect all its energies for research and investigation, that even the schoolmen, while they have disputed almost every point, even to the question whether the cardinal virtues were not animals, have never doubted the existence or power of this propensity. Now when the arts and sciences are fully unfolded before minds swayed by this active principle, will they remain unmoved and indifferent spectators? We will believe this, when we are convinced, man will not admire, though the heavens are lighted up with the Aurora Borealis, or that, placed in the vicinity of Niagara, he will not open his ears to hear its unbroken, interminable thunder.

If we examine human instincts and passions, in connection with these agencies, we are led to the same conclusion as when we reason from our propensions. Man not only feels, but he desires. Were he capacitated only to feel, he would necessarily be a miserable being. These inward feelings, these powerful emotions now so beneficial, would be an insupportable calamity. By them the heart would be agonized, and torn and distracted with an inconceivable tumult of excitement, from which there could be no relief. But our Maker has furnished in the desires, channels through



which these excitements may flow. A desire implies an object, and we may infer the identity of human instincts and passions, from the similarity of these objects of desire. Drawing our conclusions from this source, we cannot avoid the conviction of the oneness of the mental economy—that the great principles of human nature are the same the world over, and therefore what moves one man, when comprehended, will move another and all men. This, too corresponds with our own experience. That which stirred the soul in the days of Homer and Virgil moves it now with equal power, and similar results. The harp of Orpheus, by which the wheel of Ixion was made to stand still, the thirst of Tantalus was checked, and even the Furies compelled to relent, still pours its melody upon our souls, and wields a corresponding influence over us. Why is it the ancient forms of architecture are perpetuated? Because man now is what he has ever been, and these forms are harmonious with our mental economy. They are as much admired in this age as in the age that gave them birth. They are material embodiments of beautiful forms which our Maker has created within the soul of every man; and whoever, has any power of mental analysis, cannot fail to perceive the truthful and natural development. We repeat again, man is essentially the same in all zones and in all ages. Under similar circumstances, we may look for corresponding results. We know what results are being experienced by a part of the race under the operations of these agents; and it more than equals our anticipations. If then, notwithstanding the versatility of man's outward circumstances, there is a world within made by God, with fixed laws. and in reference to society and an earthly existence, unchangeable relations, we may with confidence infer the universal progress of mankind from that which contributes so largely to the improvement of a part.

The desire for happiness constitutes an invariable law of mind among all the kindreds of the earth. Our maker has given us faculties, and placed our happiness in their exer-

cise. Internal faculties, which look without for proper objects, would be of very little use without those objects. If, as Dr. Johnson has told us, "Happiness is the multiplication of agreeable consciousness," and if consciousness can only be cognizant of the *actings* of the mind, supposing these objects were cut off upon which the mind acts, or, which is the same in effect, the relations between our powers and these objects were broken up, then one of the largest sources of human enjoyment would be destroyed. But it is not so. These relations are designed to be permanent. In establishing them, and giving us capacities to find our enjoyment in them, the creator has indicated his will that men should within proper bounds, gratify their desires. But uncivilized men are cut off from many sources of gratification. So far as actual enjoyment is concerned in many respects, they might as well be without faculties. But science, practical science, disseminated among them will develop these sources of pleasure. A thousand new relations will spring up before their delighted eyes. The means for the "multiplication of agreeable consciousness" will be revealed all around them. Objects of desire wholly unknown before, will appear for the exercise of the appropriate sensitiveness. Intelligence will not only teach them what will gratify desire, but will put them in possession of the means to obtain the desirable object. And then, when science has thrown open its store house of wonders to the view of all men, when the jealousies of rival nations are so far broken down, as to give man the privilege of contemplating these objects, how greedily will he embrace the privilege. How gladly will he appropriate the means of happiness. To affirm this, is but to affirm that man will act harmoniously with his relations; that he will obey the strongest impulse of his nature, when those impulses are in strict accordance with the laws of his being; that he will prove himself a rational being. But to understand these relations, and to appreciate and enjoy the gratification to be derived from them, implies a

measure of social improvement, which will go far towards securing the extent of progress for which we are contending.

*The present aspect of science further indicates the rapid advancement of mankind.* It is becoming just what it should be in order to produce practical and social results. The erudition of baronial castles, of the age of chivalry, or that of the schools, is wholly unadapted to this age, and to present progress. It may have served as the vehicle of refined speculations, but it does not meet man's wants, nor contribute to his elevation. It will not improve the social, nor to any great extent advance the intellectual condition of man. Of this the world seems fully conscious. It demands imperatively that science shall put on a homely garb, and administer a practical benefit. *Cui bono?* is the brief but practical and trying test to which every scientific experiment of modern times is submitted. The spirit of the age demands, that whatever lays claim to science shall pass through this crucible. The children of romance, of poetry and the scientific recluse fret and quarrel, and protest the world has gone stark mad because it has demanded, that science shall yield a product for the happiness and interests of man. They wonder that certain sciences have so suddenly grown into disfavor, while others are claiming universal attention, and eliciting universal applause. No apparition could frighten them more than the clamorous, incessant demand for utility. The *cui bono?* which salutes their ears as discovery succeeds discovery, is a new and unexpected test which they insist is essentially degrading. But they must dole out their complaints in solitude. The world will not pause to listen to them. Every successive hour of the world's onward career discloses new evidences of the fitness and reasonableness of the demand for utility. Discovery must be applied to the interests of real life; and the application will be rejected unless it can be plead in its favor that it facilitates the process of making shoes, or nails, or leather; it must light our streets, or furnish our fuel at less expense; it must give more power to the machinery of a mill, a cotton factory, the steam engine; it must minister in



some way to utility, or it is destined to little notoriety, and a very precarious existence. And science has shown herself capable of meeting such requisitions, and abiding so severe but so natural, a test. Descending from the aerial regions she has evinced a perfect adaptation to our earth, and an earthly existence. She has shown herself capable of administering aid to man at all times, and in all places. Now she thunders along our railroads, then she converts cotton into a highly explosive substance, making it a substitute for gunpowder. Here she employs ether and chloroform as anæsthetics, and there uses them in connection with the steam engine. A discovery is made, and the most obvious application is pointed out; when it is ascertained the same discovery is susceptible of a multitude of valuable applications. When chemistry is discoursing of elective affinities, or teaching that "all chemical combinations take place between the supposed ultimate particles, or atoms of bodies; and that these unite either one atom with one atom, or by *sums* of atoms, which are integral multiples of unity," we can hardly imagine so delicate, so refined, so speculative, a science can be made to yield a practical benefit; but intellect gives it the proper direction, and forthwith it is employed in compounding drugs and manures, or to put to work like a serving maid, to scour, and dye, and cook, and brew, and bake. When Hadley applied light by means of the Quadrant to the measurement of angles, no one dreamed the polarized light would be converted into a time keeper; but so it is. When the chemist first analyzed coal he probably did not entertain the remotest conjecture that one of its gaseous elements would light our streets and houses. The botanist, without any utilitarian or philanthropic aims, ascertained the secretions of the poppy; he did not then even imagine that he had discovered an anodyne, which, in the hands of physicians, would be almost universally applied to alleviate human pain. When Franklin discovered the laws of electricity, and brought down the lightning from the clouds, he probably had not the remotest glimpse that the skill of man



would erect for it a highway, along which it would travel in the capacity of a letter carrier and a message boy. A few years since magnetism, as manifested in the compass needle, seemed a creature endowed with life and sensation, offended with the tampering boldness of man, and shrinking from contact with our rude world. Now it is divested of its robes of mystery, its modesty and sensitiveness subdued, and as if no better than a beast of burden, put to work to drive our turning lathes. We live more for the future than the past. The nations seem to have a distinct view of the destiny of man, and of the prospective perfectability of the social state. Any science that is retrospective is out of favor. They will have something, that, like the railroad and the telegraph, flashes or thunders on toward the future. And it is this practical attitude of science, which argues improvement, and which renders it so valuable an auxiliary in the work of social elevation.

It is true, in some respects, the ancients were in advance of what we can claim at the present time. They excelled us in the *forms* and *beauty* of art; while we, in *depth of feeling* and *idea*, greatly excel them. The fact is, so rapid are the discoveries of modern times—so numerous, so vast, so comprehensive the productions of intelligence and skill—that we cannot wait to polish and adorn. We quarry the blocks, and scatter them in vast profusion around us; if the world can ever find time again, as she is rushing on in her high career, some future lapidary may apply his chisel, and develop all the beautiful forms, exquisite proportions and symmetries, of which they are susceptible. The beauty is there, as in the ancient forms; the skill, too, is in the lapidary to develop it, and the soul to appreciate it. But there are some objects which we do not consider beautiful, for this simple reason: there is a perception of something above the beautiful which entirely occupies the mind. The beauty is there, but it does not fix our attention, by reason of the higher quality, which is too full and expansive to allow us to contemplate the lower one. There is beauty in grandeur, there

is beauty in sublimity ; but the grand and the sublime hide the beautiful, the mind rising above it to the contemplation of loftier qualities. Thus it is now in the intellectual and moral world. There is now too much of the element of power about the movements of mind to claim æsthetic graces. We cannot stop to admire the rivulet, beautiful as its limpid waters, its meanderings, and cascades, may be ; even the darkly rolling river, grand as it is in its increasing volume of waters, and in its exhibit of power, is not able to detain the mind long ; we hasten on to view sublimity, to look upon a world of waters, the illimitable expanse of the ocean, and to contemplate majesty and power in their largest earthly exhibitions.

It is on this principle that mere abstractions in science are now regarded as of little worth. The world will not be content with the showing that such and such things are so ; as for instance that there is a solar system. It demands to know what is the centre of that system, and what the relative distance of the planets which revolve around it. It demands the proper relations of a discovered fact to some other fact—its proper position amidst the great system of harmonious truths. A fact, standing out in bold and solitary grandeur, like a pyramid in the desert, isolated, of unknown or no relations, is a fiction ; no such fact is to be found. What is science but the harmony of truth ? Ignorance sees no connections, no dependencies ; but science binds all nature, with its countless causes and effects, the high and the low, its vast and its minute objects, in a golden chain of consecutive truths. Things in their relations, not solely in themselves, is what most nearly concerns man. If we can discover these, we cheerfully leave the discussion of the questions concerning the essences of bodies to Ontologists. We have thus gained the point by which society will be most benefited and advanced, and with this we are content.

The separation of science from moral culture, thereby destroying its proper relations, is a very pernicious error, and not the less so because it is sometimes countenanced, at least

in language, by men of distinguished ability. Mr. Locke has somewhere said, "He would be a foolish fellow who would not value a virtuous or a wise man before a great scholar." The error consists in dissociating such very friends as practical wisdom and scholarship. It proceeds upon the supposition that the scholar's mind is a vast lumber yard, where huge piles of intellectual lumber are stowed away, to moulder and rot. It has lost sight of the fact that man may accumulate scientific truths till he is blind, and still be nothing more than a literary dunce. For any great purpose or any permanently valuable end, he is as ignorant, after he has thus filled his mind, as before he commenced the effort. "Knowledge is power;" but whatever of the element of power there may be connected with such knowledge, it is either wholly inefficient, as the result of being without direction, or, acquiring direction, it becomes like the power of Satan, the vehicle of the malevolent affections, the fertile source of vice and ruin. A great scholar will comprehend the relations of things. There is no truth without a practical bearing. Even the most remote and speculative take hold on the real interest of life. We turn away with horror from one who has treated himself as a mere percipient being, as from one who has smothered human nature, and stifled the noblest feelings of the soul. Let such know that mere thought, however clear, laborious, far-reaching, does not constitute man a scholar. This requires the education of feeling and action, as well as the powers of the intellect. It is only when all our powers are thus educated, that cultivation assumes its most interesting aspect, and man enters upon that high career for which his Maker endowed him.

It is this matter-of-fact aspect which science has assumed, that leads us to regard it as one of the most efficient agents in the work of social reform. Theories, mere metaphysical disquisitions, are altogether superseded by the study of facts. Science itself has become prudent and cautious, wary in its inductions, and generalizing only when the basis has been well laid in a vigorous, searching investigation of particulars.



This progress is as great in the scientific world, as the progress of the social state from feudal barbarity and despotism to republican simplicity and equality; feudal Germany in the tenth, and the United States in the nineteenth century, contrasted, are fair representatives of scientific improvements. Formerly, if there was intellectual freedom, it was a wild, undefined, unsettled freedom. Reason knew no laws—imagination was wholly unrestrained—extravagant conjectures were substituted for facts—and conclusions were pompously denominated logical results, which bore a much nearer relation to the ravings of a distempered mind than to the sober deductions of a vigorous and healthful one. To Lord Bacon, the father of Inductive Science, belongs the honor of guiding the human mind out of the mazes of error, of convincing the world that science is adapted to the wants of man, and can subsist in earthly relations. Inductive science is thus wedded to common sense; and though the world has stoutly contended that it is amalgamation—the union of an ethereal essence with a gross earth born being—the union remains indissoluble. From this union we have a philosophy reaching positive results through the medium of unsophisticated reasonings. Imagination is chastened, logic advances to its conclusions only when its premises are well laid in a careful and scrutinizing induction of particulars, as legitimated by the laws of thought, and discovery seeks instantly some of the various forms of application. One of the greatest achievements of scientific reform is that by which Science was compelled to leave the airy, unsubstantial regions of conjecture, and come down to earth, and then required to hold communion with man as he is, and show to what he may, in harmony with his nature, aspire.

But this, it is said, destroys the poetry and romance of science, and renders it gross and material in all its aspects. Now were we to admit this, as we get the railroad, and the telegraph, and a thousand labor-saving machines, in their stead, we have made a fortunate exchange. We have obtained, and that too without fraud, something for nothing.



And from exchange in this instance, as usual, society will derive a large benefit. And as to its being material, we greatly prefer material sense to immaterial nonsense. When science was sublimated, its votaries were credulous enough to believe that feathers had been found which had dropped from the tail of the Phoenix, and that solid thunderbolts and petrified babies were sober realities. In this utilitarian age, these things are mentioned only to be derided.

But this makes science cold and cheerless; it concentrates all its powers upon self, and limits them to this narrow circle. This is not true. It takes away the fanciful, the illusory; it gives man assurance that the ground beneath him is firm; it introduces him into a world of realities, and makes him a man for that world; and so far from infrigiding, it quickens human powers, and will ultimately enable man to make the whole earth smile with life and beauty. A French philosopher, when told his house was on fire, said, "Go tell my wife; I never meddle with household affairs." This was sublimation, without even a residuum of common sense. He belonged too entirely to a world of abstractions to be entitled to the name of philosopher. Modern philosophy would turn him over to the physician, rather than recognize him among her votaries. This has now become the science of truth and reason. It takes man as it finds him, a creature of earth, not of air—inhabiting a material body, not an etherialized form—a rational animal; and it investigates both the rational and the animal, and without confounding the twain, it gives them identity and affinities, and unfolds the laws that govern their union. It is not without an exquisite appreciation of the beautiful; but it is the beautiful in nature, in thought, in moral character, in benevolent agents effecting beneficent ends; it has no eye for the beauty of unreal creations of the intellect; reality and utility constitute, in its view, the highest elements of beauty. Such then being the attitude of modern science, we hail it as an auxiliary of sterling worth and of great efficiency in the work of social reform. It is now prepared to become the servant of mankind, and, in

connection with moral agents, to exert an almost inconceivable influence in elevating and blessing our race.

Progression is also indicated by other facts which refer directly to the future as the period when their full results will be realized. *Among these may be enumerated the prospective abolition of war.* Is it unreasonable to suppose a period near at hand, when the nations of the earth will be so elevated by moral influences, joined with proper intellectual culture, that they will perceive the true nature of war, and adjust all national difficulties by arguments instead of arms? War in almost any point of view is irrational. It is so in the ultimate object which it proposes to reach through that medium. War has peace for its direct object. Its ultimate object, then, is social elevation, for peace is no otherwise valuable, but as it ministers to this end. How is this accomplished? As Europe does annually by lavishing a thousand million dollars on war, a means at best indirect and doubtful, while Europe and America together probably do not bestow on direct means, the efficiency of which have been many times tested, twenty millions annually. The absurdity of this is becoming apparent. Nations are beginning to look at the fruits of war, the enormous sums uselessly lavished; the changes that are wrought averse to the physical well being of man; the moral prostration that ensues, equivalent to breaking asunder the bands of society; the overthrow of intellectual pursuits, and the arrest of all social improvements.

Now it is here we mark the incipient stage of a reformation which must terminate in the abolition of war. Society has gone so far as to reprobate it, unless there are some strong and obvious reasons of sufficient weight to make it assume at least the appearance of necessity. But even then the necessity is admitted to be a terrible one. It is as though you should draw out half the blood from a man's veins in order to keep the rest in circulation, or as though, in a famine, a family should turn cannibals and eat half their number in order to preserve the other half. Fearful must be the mag-

nitude of an evil, that can counterbalance the evil of such a remedy. What reasons really exist for the wars that are generally prosecuted? Says Fredrick the Great, "I had troops entirely prepared to act; this, the fulness of my treasures, and the vivacity of my character, were the reasons why I made war on Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary." Such are the weighty reasons assigned for violating solemn treaties, and murdering thousands of human beings. And these wars, notwithstanding the high motives which originated them, such as standing armies, full treasuries, and a vivacity which can only find its counter-part in the bosom of fiends, the world are beginning to regard with intense abhorrence.

May we not safely affirm another advancement has been made? This is seen in the admission of the enormity of the evils which war inflicts, and of the inestimable benefits which its abolition would involve. But this very admission, with the hold it has upon the human mind, must go far towards effecting an entire extinction of the trade in blood. The number and magnitude of these evils must furnish an index to the will of that Holy One, who is the absolute proprietor of human existence; and this must decide the question with those who make his will the standard of right. The only questions, then, to be answered are: "How are the nations to be defended against aggression?" and "How are they to obtain redress of grievances?" It is not our intention to discuss these questions. The rapid progress of society is furnishing satisfactory solutions. But we may be permitted to remark, if, by a redress of grievances, is meant pecuniary compensation for injuries, this is seldom obtained through the medium of war. A war to compel an obstinate nation to pay a million of dollars, will cost, pecuniarily, several millions. If the grievance be of any other kind, in seeking redress through this medium, we forget the awards of war are not always on the side of justice. The fate of Hungary and Poland are but too sad illustrations of this truth. And we may remark still further, it were better that we should endure the grievance, however great, than right



ourselves by means which will impoverish a nation, not in material products merely, but in virtue and intelligence. What delightful changes will take place among men, what social reforms will ensue, when the immense wealth which has been squandered in war, shall be applied to educational, benevolent, and moral enterprises. The grounds for war may thus be entirely removed, and the dire necessity so often pleaded in its favor, be wholly extirpated; patriotism, or the love of country, be expanded into philanthropy, or love of the race; all nations be united by firmer and closer ties than in those social organizations, which unite as kindred the people of one nation: and

“ Man to man the world o’er  
Shall brithers be, an’ a’ that.”

Who will take it upon himself to prove that this is not the design of our Maker? That our state of severance does not result from the freedom of our nature, in violation of the counsels of the author of our being? The will of God is, in this respect, very clearly indicated. There is surely a manifest design in the administration of that being who does nothing at random, in multiplying indefinitely human wants, and then rendering the production of those very articles essential to the gratification of these wants, possible only in certain latitudes. There is either caprice or benevolence in such an arrangement; caprice, if there be no important end to be accomplished thereby; but the most exalted benevolence, if the design is, by creating dependence between the different sections of the human family, to make man regard his fellow man as his brother, and to furnish influential reasons, laid in pressing wants, to induce him to live on terms of amity with him. If the relations existing between the parts of a watch are such as to clearly indicate, in the absence of any certain knowledge of its qualities, the intention of the designer to construct a time piece, how much more do such facts as these indicate the will of the great de-



signer to be that discords, malice, and ill-will, should cease from among men, and that they should live in intimate fraternal relations with each other; their wants, their propensities, their intellectual and moral improvement, everything interesting and valuable among them leading to such relations.

Our Maker has established this system of mutual relations and dependence to promote the order, the peace, the universal friendship of the race. He never made a man with independent rights and interests. He has established the great law of reciprocity, and has bound every individual with its silken cords. Hence our feelings answer responsive to the voice of our fellow man, our interests are identical with his, and most of the benefits of physical and social existence are derived from him. Man was made for man as well as for his Creator. Social and individual progress are intimately blended. The one must ever result from the other. A clear comprehension of these relations will terminate war; and with the termination of this national and devastating curse, shall come a state of exaltation and purity far exceeding all our present conceptions.

*The characteristic of the present age argues the progress of man.* What is this but the dominion of conscience, the power of truth? Simple truth, without anything to recommend it but its own intrinsic merit, makes its way with a rapidity unparalleled in the former history of man to the empire of mind, and from that moment sits enthroned in its convictions. There is a power in truth which no earthly monarch ever wielded—a power that goes down into the depths of the soul, takes hold of the very elements of being, harmonizes with every internal feeling and impulse, and sways an unlimited scepter over a willing and rejoicing spirit. Man has but to look within and he finds notions of order, justice, and reason. These have always existed there; but it must be admitted they now take a wider range, a stronger hold on his convictions, and influence his actions far more extensively than at any former period. They not only exist within him, but their application in society becomes to him an

object of intense interest. Look at the oppressive governments of Europe, and you shall see how restless men are where principles obtain directly the opposite of these. These ideas take entire possession of the mind; no power can comprise or suppress them; and man becomes willing to pledge everything to their exemplification in the social state. He sees their importance, their intimate relations with the progress of the race, and forthwith, even at his peril, begins to propagate them. How potent is this truth, and who can calculate its influence upon human progress, that governments have no right to interfere with mind, or to attempt to control its freedom of thought with legal pains or penalties; to direct or forbid its investigations or the expression of its convictions; to attempt to govern mind without the agreement of its reason and the consent of its will. No despotism will be able to break this truth from its hold upon the intellect. It is born with man, and, like man, is constituted immortal. Thought is essentially free. When embodied in physical or moral action in such a manner as to interfere with the rights of others, then, and not till then, may governments interfere. And interference short of this will only show as it has done, many times in the history of mankind, to the terror and dismay of their oppressors, that the dominion of truth in an upright mind is unlimited and perfect. Mind will not be treated as we treat the unintelligent earth on which we tread, the water which we force into certain channels, or any material object which we make subserve our purpose without leave asked or granted. Any attempt to proscribe free inquiry, to destroy the democracy of intellect, to make the thoughts of man flow in designated channels, or to usurp dominion over conscience, must ultimately prove futile. This is a prerogative mind will yield only to God. Neither can you force a passage into such a mind. If, by any means, you attain an entrance there, it will not be until after reason has opened the door. Reason stands as the porter of the soul, narrowly inspecting every form that approaches. The inquisition has worked its engines of tor-

ture, kings have issued their decrees, and the Vatican has thundered its excommunications in vain to drive this inflexible sentinel from his post. Experience has shown you cannot coerce conviction by physical force. You may force obedience; you may bend the will or sway the affections; or you may, through the medium of the passions, put reason in chains; but you can only dispute successfully with reason and produce conviction by reason. Reason is the only weapon that can triumph over an upright mind.

And we should not forget, man may be conquered in appearance when he is by no means vanquished in reality. Who, that has felt the political pulse of Europe, and ascertained the feverish excitement which prevails throughout the whole system, can believe that the external quiet which reigns there is an index of the real condition of the public mind? The excessive pressure of tyranny, like that exhibited by the Austrian government at the present time, must ultimately cause a dangerous and violent reaction. Any plan to destroy freedom of thought and the rights of conscience, however ingeniously devised, or skillfully executed, must finally lead to an exhibition of man's inherent energy, to a wide and daring development of his inward appreciation of those rights, and of those sacrifices he will make to maintain them. All experience may show that men "are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves," but tyranny, whether wielded by the individual or by society, must not proceed beyond the point of possible acquiescence. Despair makes men ferocious; and even when resistance does not assume that form, it is seen in the attitude of fixed principle, of high and steady resolve, and of inflexible determination more terrible to oppressors than armies of veteran soldiers. Men's intellects may become more dangerous than their arms. And who that is acquainted with the present condition of European nations, and the history of man, does not perceive this is a true representation of the condition of those nations. Great political and moral reforms are evidently in embryo. The nations



heave and are unquiet. The pause is an ominous one, like that in the storm the moment before it pours forth its fury; the elements are combining by which political freedom will be achieved; the national conscience is awakened; the love of truth is increasing; the conviction of personal rights and responsibilities is taking a deeper hold upon the public mind; monarchy is becoming more and more enfeebled; age and decrepitude are creeping apace upon the ancient dynasties; while the nations are standing in breathless silence awaiting the summons of liberty to the banquet of freedom. But this very condition argues a present and prospective progress, without a parallel in the history of the world.

It is essential to human improvement that there should be religious freedom. Conscience must be free. A free man and an enslaved conscience are contradictions. Enslave the conscience and you enslave the whole man; and the stupefaction, degradation, and servility inseparable from slavery will appear in all that relates to him. The assertion that man can be free when conscience is bound in chains, is entitled to just as much credit, as the declaration, that when the heart is deadened the circulation will go on, and the organism of the frame be active. Conscience is the very center of man's spiritual being; and its freedom is to human liberty, what the heart is to the functions of the living animal; if one ceases to pulsate, the other must die.

It is an important question then if religious freedom is advancing—if there are any marked evidences of progress in the religious world. Now experience shows that religion prospers most when left free to exercise its functions according to its own nature. Its reliance is upon moral, not upon physical force. While on one hand it disdains the aid of artifice, and does nothing in a corner, on the other it rejects from its association the pains and penalties of law, and all coercive measures whatever. Its votaries must be willing votaries. Its saving influences can only be exerted on minds voluntarily conformed to its pure and lofty precepts. The true lover of Zion asks merely the protection, not the aid, of



law. All aid rendered from such a source is a drawback on its real prosperity. Men are beginning to view the question in the light in which the Author of our religion presented it—"My kingdom is not of this world." Hence, the bands that bind church to state are being gradually loosened or violently sundered. On one hand the church is learning that such a union cripples its energies, and draws it down from its high sphere; that it substitutes weak and sensual motives, for those that are pure and elevated, and directs attention from a heavenly Saviour, to an earthly establishment. On the other hand, statesmen are beginning to learn that their province is the government of civil, not of religious society as such. And on either hand, they will agree with John Knox, the celebrated Scotch Reformer, in saying of the union of church and state, "Cloak it as you will, and you cannot conceal the devil," On every side, religious freedom is being strengthened. But while so many agencies are in operation producing in surprising number and rapidity, effects bearing on this great and vital interest of man, we should not forget that he has barely entered on his career of improvement. We have no reason to hope that that career will be an uninterrupted one. There may be periods when in some parts of the world, society will retrograde. But on the whole it will advance, until all that was seen in prophetic vision will be realized; social developments be perfected; moral and intellectual improvements carried to the limit of earthly capacities; "the light of the moon be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun seven fold as the light of seven days;" the kindreds of the earth take up the the chorus of the skies, "peace on earth and good will to man;" and our world rejoice in the universal concord of man and the favor of God.











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